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Oct. 22, 1859-w.t

THE COMMONWEALTH.

Speech of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, before the Legislature of Kentucky, on Tuesday, 26th of March, 1861.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

It is my great honor on this occasion to appear before you upon your joint invitation to address you upon the subject of our national affairs. I thank you, gentlemen, for the great honor you have thus seen fit to confer upon me. I have been long, very long, in the service of my country. The time has come when I am to retire from it. I do it cheerfully and willingly. You and your predecessors have conferred many honors upon me; you have given me your confidence. Repeatedly have I had the honor of being elected to the United States Senate; I am now a private citizen, and after all my trials and my attempts in the service of my country, you are pleased to receive me with approbation; I am grateful to you gentlemen. By these honors and this exhibition of your confidence you endeavor to make the repose of my old days, after a life spent in your service, agreeable, happy, and humble; you can confer no greater reward upon me. I can receive none greater. I know that I am indebted as much to your partiality as I am to the value of any service I have rendered for these tokens of regard and confidence.

I am invited, Mr. Speaker, to address you and the honored assembly on the subject of our national affairs. It is a gloomy subject. Mr. Speaker. Never in the long history of our country has anything like or at all parallel to the present condition of our country presented itself for our consideration. But a little while ago we were a great, united people—our name was known, and known only to be respected, throughout the land. Our power, our greatness was every where recognized, and our flag was everywhere considered as the emblem of a great and growing nation. Now, sir, what is the condition to which we are reduced. Where is that glorious Union that we promised ourselves should be perpetuated? Where are those ten thousand sentiments offered in toasts and orations that the Union was to be perpetuated? "Let it be perpetuated—*eternal*"—was the sentiment expressed on thousands and thousands of public occasions.

What is our condition now, and how has it been brought about? I need not state very particularly the causes which have produced these effects, nor need I recur to the present condition of our nation with a view of telling you what it is. It is a condition of things which interests every heart—known to every citizen. I shall not detain you idly by any particular details of causes. It is enough to say that it has all grown—our national calamity—our national misfortune—has all grown out of a controversy between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States; furnishing questions of slavery and questions of anti-slavery—questions about the territories of the United States. These agitations have long existed on the one side and on the other a vast portion of the United States. It has resulted in the formation of sectional parties—a sectional party in the North and a sectional party in the South. The sectional party of the North has finally succeeded in electing a President for the United States and installing their party in all branches of the government. This has excited increased apprehensions in parts of the South as to the safety of their peculiar institutions. They dread that the northern power will employ itself in destroying one of these institutions and depriving them of their property. Under this apprehension what have they done? They have sought a most violent remedy against this apprehended evil—rending asunder from it, from the Union of these States, and forming for themselves an separate, distinct, and independent government out of the seven States that have seceded—South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. These States have, in so far as they possessed the power, broken our Union, and established or attempted to establish for themselves an independent government, and to put that government into operation. This is the present attitude in which our country stands. While these revolutionary movements were in progress attempts were made in the Congress of the United States then in session for the adoption of such measures as might check them. It was hoped that if these measures could not recall to the Union the States that had already seceded they might secure the allegiance and adherence to the Union of the remaining States. Among many other gentlemen who proposed measures for adjustment and reconciliation, I submitted a series of resolutions, believing that their adoption might pacify our country, put a stop to revolution, and preserve and restore our Union. I need not undertake to occupy your time by reading those resolutions. They are known to you all, and had the honor of being unanimously approved by you. This object was mainly to satisfy the claims of the South to remove with their slaves to the territories of the United States.

On the other hand, this right was denied upon the ground that the territories belonged to the United States; that no individual State nor any of the States separated had an interest in the territories, but that they belonged to and were under the absolute control and government of the General Government. Sir, let that be admitted. Admit that the territory is under the absolute control of the General Government, but, sir, does it not follow that the General Government ought so to administer this great property, as to exercise its great functions, that every class of States, and every State, shall equally participate in and equally enjoy that which belongs to all? No matter whether you consider it a property held in trust for the individual States, or as a property held absolutely for the General Government, to be controlled or disposed of by the General Government, it equally follows that that General Government, to be just and act upon the principles of justice, ought to so administer the property of the Union, and every State—every portion of the Union—may have an equal participation in and an equal enjoyment in that which belongs to all—the territory of the United States.

It seems to me, therefore, that there is no injustice in excluding from that equal and full enjoyment any class of States because of any institution that may exist in them. The Constitution gives to the other States no right to monopolize that territory, and to assume the entire ownership and enjoyment of it. The Constitution accepted them as slaveholding States. It accepted them at the time of its adoption as entitled to equal rights, notwithstanding they held slaves. It accepted slaveholding and non-slaveholding States as standing in equal favor with the Constitution, and entitled to equal rights and equal justice from that Constitution. So regarding it, it seems to me that it would be unjust for the free States to assume and usurp to themselves the entire control of these territories, and so control them as in effect to exclude from the portions of the citizens of a certain class of States. I thought, therefore, sir, that the North was in the right in respect to this question of property and rights in the territories of the United States; and one of the objects of the measures which I proposed, one of their chief objects was to procure, by an amendment to the Constitution, an acknowledgment of this equal right on the part of the South. Upon Constitutional principles this right would extend to all the territories of the United States, and the southern States, in common with the free States, would have an undivided and equal right in all the territories of the United States. But as a common enjoyment would be difficult, it appeared more convenient that there should be for this purpose a sort of partition of the territories of the United States between the different classes of States, slaveholding and non-slaveholding.

Our fathers—those who have gone before us—in the year 1820, upon the question of the introduction of Missouri into the Union, were involved in this very question of slavery agitation. The admission of Missouri was objected to because of its constitution, in view of the fact that slavery

existed in the new State and was sanctioned by its constitution. Manifesting at that early period an opposition to the exclusion of slavery, they rejected it in the first instance—they opposed the admission of Missouri. A compromise was then drafted. The line of 36 deg. 30 min. was made the dividing boundary or line. Upon the north of it slavery was to be prohibited; upon the south of it slavery was not to be prohibited. So the masters rested. It produced peace. Now instead of the common, undivided right to go into all the Territories, the South has an implied promise that she may go there and carry her slaves, if she pleases, into all the territory south of the line of 36 deg. 30 min. That compromise applied also to the territory acquired by the Louisiana treaty. What have we done in the present emergency—an emergency presenting the same question? I proposed that we should again adopt this line of division and apply it to the territory which we had since acquired in our war with Mexico—that again we should renew the compact that in the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. there should be no slavery, and that in the territory south of it slavery should be recognized. It seemed to me that this was just, equitable, and right. But it did not appear so to the Congress of the United States.

I believe if these measures, thus offered, had been at a suitable time promptly adopted by the Congress of the United States, it would have checked the progress of the rebellion and revolution, and saved the Union. But I say it did not so to the Congress of the United States, and they declined to adopt these resolutions, with the exception of one. That was an amendment to the Constitution, which it adopted so far as it could, to be referred to the several States for their adoption—an amendment declaring that the General Government should have no power whatever over slavery in the States, and that no amendment should be made to the Constitution of the United States which should give Congress any such power. It said nothing in respect to the territories either as it regarded the territories themselves or as it regarded slavery in the territories. They declined to permit slaves to be carried into the territory south of 36° 30'. In the meantime the revolution proceeded. This resolution has undertaken to form itself into a government distinct and independent. The revolting States have broken the Union which united us heretofore, and are putting this government into operation; and we stand here to witness the great events that are occurring around us—astonished at the revolution that is glaring us in the face—and inquiring what is to be done.

There was one solitary circumstance attending these resolutions, however, that is well worthy of notice. Although the discussion of them did not sufficiently recommend them to the Congress of the United States, it struck upon the hearts of the people throughout the United States, and afforded them an opportunity for displaying their fraternal feelings towards us and all the South, and the generous temper and disposition which prompted them to seek reconciliation and adjustment—an amicable settlement of all our differences upon any terms that we might believe to be fair and equitable—just upon the terms offered by the resolutions which I submitted, or upon any other terms equivalent to them. That would have been reconciliation enough to have saved the Union, whatever else might have been lost. As a testimony of the manner in which this adjustment was hoped for, hundreds and thousands of persons in the northern States signed petitions praying for the passage of the measure. Forty thousand voters from Pennsylvania, thousands from all the northwestern States, breathing a spirit of lowered kindness to their fellow citizens and devotion to the Union, which was willing to sacrifice anything and everything for its preservation. This was to me, and it will be to you and to every Union-loving man the most impressive and acceptable evidence of the temper and disposition of our fellow-citizens elsewhere. It showed me that the argument which has been so often used to disunite us—that the North hates the South, and that the South hates the North, is not true. The Almighty has not made us with hearts of such malignity as to hate whole classes of our countrymen for the sins of a few men. The North does not hate the South. The South does not hate the North. In this matter, gentlemen, I speak so far as my own observation and my own experience enable me to testify. We have our moments of irritation at times. We have great provocations, and often these provocations have excited unkind feelings—reproaches without number on the one side and on the other. Crimination and recrimination has existed between us. But this only serves to form a part of that great volume of abuse which political strife and the struggle for party predominance must necessarily produce. They will be here. The cause is no longer made turbid by this cause, and in purity it runs throughout the land, encircling us in the arms of a common fellowship—a common country. So may God forever preserve us.

We have not been made to hate one another. We do not hate one another. The politicians who tell us that we hate each other are either honestly mistaken or they are seeking ephemeral popularity by professing to be our friends, and showing us by the hatred which they profess for other sections, that their protecting love for us is over all. But the people will not always be led by politicians. They have risen upon this occasion, and I believe in my heart that there is at this moment a majority of northern men that would cheerfully vote for any of the resolutions of compromise that were proposed by men of the South in the last Congress. I have assurances of that character from some of the most respectable men in Pennsylvania. I have assurances given to me by hundreds of letters from the most intelligent men of that State, to get my resolutions submitted to them. They came to me from every northern State. I have written with a solitary exception, to get my resolutions submitted to the people. We want to "present to the Union." We differ from our representatives in Congress in this matter. They are elected as partisans, on party platforms, and are subject to the control of their party. They do not feel as we do. They feel and act like partisans, and want to maintain every syllable and every letter of their platform. We wish to preserve our sacred Union. We love our brethren. Put your resolutions before us. They will pass by hundreds and thousands of majorities.⁵ Gentlemen, I believe, in Pennsylvania, they would have passed by one hundred thousand majority. If these resolutions have done nothing else they have at least elicited evidence of affection for us from our northern brethren. They ought to be considered as having attained something in this light, something important, too, considering the value of the Union. The people were ready to sanction the compromise. The generosity and patriotism of their hearts have not stopped to calculate the consequences to party of the downfall of their platform. They have indulged these feelings as fellow citizens and fellow countrymen, and they are willing to give you all you ask and all you want. They would rather give you more than you are entitled to than part with you.

We are not to be outdone in generosity, I trust, by the people of the North. If they are thus anxious to preserve the Union, shall we be more lukewarm in that sacred cause? What we should do is this: Insist upon our rights, but insist upon them in the Union, and depend upon it that the people will grant them to you. This or that Senate, or this or that body or convention may refuse, but mark me, your country has a great, warm heart. The citizens of this republic will work out the redemption of their country, if we will but combine and co-operate with them to preserve this Union. Let us struggle in the Union, contend in the Union, make the Union the instrument with which we contend, and we shall get all that we can ask—all that we can desire—all that reason can warrant us in expecting.

This, my fellow-citizens, is the great fact of the continuing opinion of our brethren everywhere. Now, the great question which we are called upon to decide is, whether we have an unparalleled, stupendous crisis—what shall we do? Seven States of our common country—lately moving in harmony—claiming no other rights than as the fellow-citizens of a common government—withdraw from this government, and are now denying their allegiance to it—avowing their determination to form a separate government, and actually forming that separate government as an independent government—as separate from this. They are attempting to ignore all relations to us, and claiming treatment as a foreign power. What is the wish of us all? It is, and ought to be, by some means or measure to bring back to this Union—to bring back into—to perfect re-

conciliation with us, fellow-citizens, who have thus gone astray and abandoned us. Are, that is the wish of all. Though we may think they have acted rashly, we cannot yet look upon them as foreigners. They are, some of them, of our families—some of them are our brothers. They may secede from the Government, but they cannot secede from those thousand affections that bind them to us. They cannot secede from those thousand relations of consanguinity and love which unite them with us. Nature has tied these knots. Party difficulties and political troubles can never untie them.

They proclaim themselves independent as a nation. How shall we treat these erring brethren? How shall the General Government act towards them? how shall Kentucky and the other slave States conduct themselves towards these seceding States? The object of all is to bring us greatly erred—at least I am. We think they have done wrong to themselves, wrong to us, and wrong to all mankind by breaking up that government which protected humanity in every region of the world—protects that have been indissolubly connected with liberty and political happiness. The wrong to all those interests which they have done prove conclusively to my mind that the Union cannot be broken. It is not yet broken. These States may have seceded. "Seceded"—a word altogether illegitimate, having no origin or foundation in any constitutional right, and all that can be canonical in meaning—that I am willing to apply here, divested of all right and significance; simply it is revolution against us—whereas revolution acknowledged and avowed is war upon the nation against whom that revolution is attempted. Our Union so far as it exists in the sanctum of the Constitution—so far as it exists in the South—if all our laws, all popular opinion and sentiment still exists in theory though disobeyed and disregarded by those who attempt to form another nation, the wish of us all is to bring them back—to be again one and indivisible. How shall it be best done?

What is the policy for the General Government to pursue? Now, Mr. President, without undertaking to say what the exact policy—under circumstances such as these—will be, I will only undertake to say that they ought not to pursue a course of forcible coercion. Not the policy of coercion, I say. Our object and desire is to bring them back in terms of former union and fellowship. That is the object of our private affection, as well as of our public policy. To attempt by coercion—by arms—in force them back into the Union at the point of the bayonet—to shed their blood—is no way to win their affections. Let them go on in peace with their experiment. This government is not bound to patronize revolution against itself—therefore, I say, let its policy be the policy of forbearance and of peace. Let them make this experiment under all the advantages that peace can give them. We all hope, for their own good and their own welfare, that their experiment will fail of success—that when the increased expenses of government formed of a few States, and the thousand inconveniences that attend its disruption from the great body to which it belongs—like the tearing off an arm from the human system—when they have come to experience all the pains and inconveniences—all the troubles and difficulties that attend it, and must needs be attended, this extraordinary movement which will begin to look back to the great mansion of their tribe—the grand Union of this great republic—they will wish to return to their brethren, no longer to try these hazardous experiments of making governments separate from this government. These are truly hazardous experiments. They will be great provocations, and every thing to win their affections. Let them go on in peace with their experiment. This government is not bound to patronize revolution against itself—therefore, I say, let its policy be the policy of forbearance and of peace. Let them make this experiment under all the advantages that peace can give them. We all hope, for their own good and their own welfare, that their experiment will fail of success—that when the increased expenses of government formed of a few States, and the thousand inconveniences that attend its disruption from the great body to which it belongs—like the tearing off an arm from the human system—when they have come to experience all the pains and inconveniences—all the troubles and difficulties that attend it, and must needs be attended, this extraordinary movement which will begin to look back to the great mansion of their tribe—the grand Union of this great republic—they will wish to return to their brethren, no longer to try these hazardous experiments of making governments separate from this government. These are truly hazardous experiments.

What is our nearest duty? You have been told that this Union by which I advise you to stand firm. Stand true to it, I say, until some great political necessity drives you from it. Then go; it will be time then, and that necessity will be your justification. There is another authority still more venerable than that of the illustrious man whom I have mentioned—I mean Gen. Washington. Do you believe he was a wise man? What did he tell you of the value of this Union, and of your duty to maintain and uphold it—not merely argumentative devotion, ready to argue yourselves in or out of it on occasion; he told you to have an immovable attachment to the Union—never to think of abandoning it; stick to it; fight for it; fight in it; if your rights are disturbed maintain them, it that desperate extremity should come; but that desperate extremity should not be approached. It may occur for a short time. Wrong and oppression may be practised on a short time. But rulers may oppress who have oppressed others. You may have a mischievous President and an ignorant and injurious Congress. All this may occur, but all this in the wisdom of the Constitution is swallowed up in the general good. That same Constitution, which, through the infirmity of human nature, necessarily subjects you to those evils, gives you the power of redressing them at short intervals of time, and he who cannot, for his own sake, and understand the duty that he has incurred, by his own conduct, will not be a member of a good government. You have the opportunity of redeeming that government by frequent elections of a President and Congress. If you permit a repetition of a maladministration it is your fault. You have the remedy, and it is your fault if you do not use it.

Genlelement, the government is in a bad and dangerous condition. Whether it shall fall to pieces and become the scoff of the world, whether our ruins are all that shall remain to tell our story is the question now to be determined. I believe in the people more than in governments. I believe in the people more than in Presidents, in Senators, or in Houses of Representatives. Do not say that I flatter multitudes. I say it because it is in the interest of the people. I believe in the public virtue of the people, whatever may be said to the contrary. Though in many things many people act a little unworthy of the dignity of freemen, still, when I look at the majestic body of the people, I find that there is a wisdom, a generosity, and a public virtue that will not allow this country to be trampled under foot or to go down to ruin. They will extend their hands from the North to the South, and from the South to the North in fraternal sympathy. I do not believe they will fight upon any cause that yet exists. I believe they will not permit their rulers to maintain any petty platforms to destroy a great country. The Chicago platform—thing no bigger than my hand—to be set up, like an idol of old, and worshipped, and a great country like ours, with all its millions, sacrificed upon its altars. The people will not allow that to be done. They are not platform makers. Their country and their God is what they are for. They are our fellow-citizens, and they will save us. This may be a superficial, but I have it, and it comforts and solaces me. You are a portion of that great body, and will you do your part.

The moment we are divided, what are we? Before all the nations of the earth our greatness is given up. Is there any one of you, any one whose heart swells with pride and love of country, that would not mourn over the slight diminution of the greatness of his country's power. We experienced the haughtiness and superciliousness of the haughty prince when we were but a feeble colony, I might say inured in revolution. Now for the first time we meet a foe over sea and over land; it is everywhere halted—when you are compelled to blot from its folds seven of the stars that now adorn it—when this waning constellation shall show its diminished head—when will be come of that respect, founded in fear as well as in love? What will become of that respect with which it was haled under a peaceful Government? When you go abroad now, and when to the question as to what you are, you answer you are an American, you are treated instantly with more respect than even the proud Englishman. Of all names it is by which a man would prefer to travel in Europe. It is your country's name that gives you this stamp, this great power. It is that great country whose name never fails to prove a shadow of protection over you. Do you not believe now that foreign nations are triumphing in the division and dismemberment of this great government? They feared its example. They feared herself, but now they look to you not with a fear of her, but with a respect for her. She is the greatest, the freest, and the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. Is she to fall down in a day? Are we hastily to go off—to fly from all the greatness we have inherited and acquired, and madly wild in the wilderness an experimental government and substitute it for the better one we now enjoy?

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Now what, I say again, is Kentucky to do? This is a question upon which many of us, fellow-citizens, differ in opinion. I came notherto-day to reproach any one for his opinion. I came to argue the matter with my fellow-citizens, and to present my views of the subject as one of the people of Kentucky. We should consult together on this question. No man should be entirely given up to his opinion in such matters. He should listen with respect to the arguments of all. It is only about the means of advancing the interests of that country.

What will gain by going off with this secession movement—this experimental government? Is it not a hazardous experiment? Can seven States well bear all the expense that must arise out of the maintenance of armies, of navies, the expenses of a state of government like our own with like expenses? They must have a President. They will probably not give him a less salary than we give our President. They must have a Congress. They will not give their Congressmen less than we give ours. They must have all the revenue, and they will not raise taxes. I think, as a result of the legislation of our states, complain, without being able to diminish, that they must have also. How can these seven States defend the expenses? Is it in our interest to join this experimental government—to give up the grand heritage which we enjoy under the established Constitution made by the men most esteemed by us, under which we have lived, and if we will unite with them, and if the other loyal slaveholding States will show the same disapprobation of their course, will not have the effect of checking the career of this revolution? Won't its tendency be to make them think of returning to their brethren who are endeavoring to persuade them back by tokens of love and affection? When they see we will not follow, won't they return to us?

That is our best policy if we want to effect the reunion of the seceded States. It is not our policy to increase the evil by joining them. Will it be more difficult for them to come back alone than if six others joined them? Won't that put far-

ther from us all hopes of a reunion? It seems to me that every view, every argument is capable of demonstration that the course of wisdom and policy for us is to stand by the Union. It is better for us for the future, better for the future of the country. By showing to our erring brethren that we have all her physical powers that she could possibly have in the new Confederacy—all her means of physical resistance are just equal to the Union to what they would be out of the Union. In addition to this she possesses claims by law and by the Constitution which all the world sees, knows, can read and understand. With these immunities and rights, with the laws and the Constitution, does she not have additional power? To the physical power she is able to carry the immunities and laws which form the charter. She can appeal to our courts, to the Union, to the fellow-countrymen of the Government and the Union. She is stronger in this attitude.

Upon an occasion not unlike the present, ten years ago, Mr. Clay stood near the spot which I now occupy. The circumstances of the times were then not altogether unlike what they are now. He stood here in 1850. In 1848 the storm was gathering as it has now gathered. The country was in a ferment in division. Mr. Clay went to Congress in 1849. He brought forward a series of compromises in 1850 and had them passed. That pacified the country and preserved the Union. In 1850 he came here and in this Legislature he delivered an address. The storm had then passed by, but he spoke to them with a prophet's fire, and with all a patriot's concern, of the character of the Constitution of their country and the value of this Union. He said, "I have been asked, when would I consent to give up this Union? I answer, never! never! never! and I warn you, my countrymen, now as if things seem to tend to this, this country should be divided into a Union and a disunion party, I here now, no matter who compose that party, declare myself a member of the Union party. Whether it be a Whig or Democrat that belongs to

THE COMMONWEALTH.
FRANKFORT.

J. H. JOHNSON, Editor.

FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1861.

EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

For Congress:
JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.

KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE.

IN SENATE.

THURSDAY, March 28, 1861.

The Senate was opened with prayer by the Rev. JOHN N. NORTON, of the Episcopal church.

The Journal of yesterday was read by the Clerk.

PRIVILEGED MOTIONS.

Mr. HAYCRAFT moved a reconsideration of the vote rejecting the bill to amend the charter of Brandenburg; motion entered.

Mr. WALTON moved a reconsideration of the vote rejecting the resolutions of Mr. TAYLOR, requesting the members of Congress from Kentucky to vote for a repeal of the bill authorizing U. S. Courts for the Kentucky District to be held at Paducah, Covington, and Louisville.

Mr. FISK made a motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table; negative by yeas 16, nays 20.

The vote was then taken on the reconsideration of the vote rejecting the resolutions; and it was carried by yeas 19, nays 16.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Was granted to Mr. BARRICK, he being sick. The motion for leave was made by Mr. READ.

PETITIONS AND REMONSTRANCES.

Were presented by Messrs. ALEXANDER, (2), also two remonstrances, and CISSELL, (2), and appropriately referred.

A MESSAGE FROM THE H. R.

Was received, announcing the passage of sundry bills which originated in that House, the passage of a Senate bill, and also the passage of a resolution for an adjournment sine die.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. FISK had the following resolution read for information, [the rules were not dispensed with to enable him to offer it], viz:

WHEREAS, Much of the time of the session is consumed in unduly one day what was done the day before; therefore

Resolved, That no action shall be taken on any proposition the same day it is offered.

Mr. DENNY moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to offer a resolution. The Senate refused to suspend the rules. The resolution was read for information, and is as follows, viz:

Resolved, That it is a well known fact that there is no money in the Public Treasury to meet the ordinary expenses of the State; and whereas, both Houses of this General Assembly have passed a bill borrowing two hundred thousand dollars of the Sinking Fund; and whereas, sound policy dictates and demands that some means shall be provided to pay this borrowed debt, and to meet the ordinary expenses of the State; therefore,

Resolved, That the Auditor of Public Accounts is hereby requested to report to this body, at his earliest convenience, what rate of increase of taxation in Kentucky, is necessary to raise the necessary sum to meet this debt, and carry on the ordinary expenses of the State.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. GILLIS—Enrollments—Reported sundry bills correctly enrolled, and they were signed by the SPEAKER.

Mr. GROVER—Revised Statutes—A bill to amend section 9, article 3, chapter 91, Revised Statutes: passed.

Same—a bill concerning the jurisdiction of the quarterly court of Bourbon county: passed.

Mr. FISK—Revised Statutes—A H. R. bill to amend an act for the improvement of the navigation of Licking river—with an amendment as a substitute for the bill. [The substitute repeals the act to improve the navigation of Licking river, passed in 1860.] The substitute was adopted, and the bill as amended passed.

Same—a bill to prevent any county judge from practicing law in his own court.

Mr. ROUSSEAU offered an amendment to the bill: [by adding after the words "own court," the words, "nor in the courts of his own county."]

Mr. FISK offered an amendment to the amendment by making it apply to courts from which an appeal may be taken to the county court.

Mr. WHITAKER offered a substitute for the bill and amendments, [which in effect only prevents the judge from setting in a case where he has been counsel or adviser in a lower court:] but he withdrew his substitute for the present.

Mr. ROUSSEAU withdrew his amendment.

Mr. FISK then offered his as an amendment to the original bill.

Mr. WALKER offered a substitute for the bill and amendments, [it applies the provisions of the bill of 1858, to all magistrates, police and other inferior courts in the county of the judge:] rejected.

Mr. FISK's amendment was then adopted; and the bill as amended, was passed.

Mr. PENNEBAKER—Revised Statutes—A bill to amend chapter 37 of the Revised Statutes: [provides that claims against estates, after proof and demand for payment of executors and administrators, shall bear interest until paid.]

Mr. WALKER moved to lay the bill on the table: carried.

Mr. GROVER—Codes of Practice—A bill to amend the Civil Code of Practice: recommended after some discussion.

Mr. ALEXANDER—Library—A bill to deduct books to certain counties: passed.

Mr. JOHNSON—Banks—A bill to amend the charters of the banks of issue in this Commonwealth. [Allows the re-issue of \$2,000,000 of notes, redeemable in two years, to be loaned in sums of not over \$1,000, and called in, in not more than 10 per cent, for the two first calls, and not more than 20 per cent, on other calls; \$200,000 to be loaned in each Congressional district:] ordered to be printed, and made the special order for 9 o'clock to-morrow.

PENITENTIARY.

A message was received from the House of Representatives, announcing their concurrence in the Senate bill to reduce the rent of the Penitentiary from \$12,000 to \$6,000, for the remaining two years of the present keep-er's term.

SPECIAL ORDER FOR 11 O'CLOCK.

The bill to amend the Militia law was again taken up. The question was the amendment of Mr. TAYLOR to submit the act to a vote of the people before it becomes a law.

Mr. RUST opposed the amendment at length.

Mr. FISK offered an amendment to the amendment: rejected.

The vote was taken on the adoption of Mr. TAYLOR's amendment, and it was rejected by yeas 7, nays 37.

Mr. RUST moved a reconsideration of the vote adopting Mr. ROUSSEAU's amendment to the 16th section. [This amendment allows the soldiers to vote upon who shall command them, or give their consent to be commanded by one appointed, when in the field, except when the Governor commands in person.] The vote was reconsidered by yeas 19, nays 14.

The vote was again taken on adopting the amendment, and it was rejected by a tie vote of yeas 18, nays 18.

The third reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. WHITAKER offered an amendment, as an engrossed ryder. [Provides that the members of the State Guard, who joined before the passage of this act, shall have the right to withdraw at any time.]

The SPEAKER decided the amendment out of order.

Mr. WHITAKER then moved a reconsideration of the vote dispensing with the third reading of the bill.

A discussion ensued on this motion, in which a wide range was taken. The whole merits of the bill and its demerits were discussed at length by several Senators.

The discussion was continued up to the hour of 1 o'clock, being the hour for a recess.

The Senate took a recess until 3 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill to amend the militia law.

Mr. ANDREWS being entitled to the floor, proceeded to address the Senate in reply to some of the remarks made before the recess, in relation to the time and manner of the passage of the militia bill at the session of 1860.

The pending question was, "shall the vote dispensing with the third reading be reconsidered?"

Some further discussion ensued on the bill, in which Messrs. JOHNSON and ROUSSEAU took part.

Mr. FISK favored an efficient organization of the militia. He advocated the bill at some length.

The vote on reconsidering the third reading of the bill was then taken and carried by yeas 20, nays 15.

Mr. WHITAKER offered a substitute for the 16th section of the bill. [It provides that no officer of the Enrolled Militia shall command the Active Militia; and no one shall command the Active Militia who is not elected to office by them, except the Governor:] rejected by yeas 17, nays 18.

Mr. ROUSSEAU offered an additional section, appropriating \$10,000 for Louisville, and \$3,000 for Covington, to build arsenals—the cities to donate grounds on which to build them: rejected by yeas 5, nays 30.

Mr. WHITAKER offered an amendment as an additional section allowing members of the State Guard, who have been mustered in before the passage of this bill, to withdraw at pleasure.

The previous question was ordered.

The amendment was then adopted by yeas 19, nays 14.

The bill was then ordered to a third reading.

Mr. PENNEBAKER offered an amendment as an engrossed ryder: decided out of order.

The third reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The previous question was ordered, and the bill was put on its passage and the vote stood thus:

YEAS.—Mr. Speaker (Porter), Messrs. Anthony, Andrews, Chambers, Cissell, Darnaby, Davidson, Dehaven, Fisk, Gibson, Glenn, Grover, Grundy, Haycraft, Irvin, Jenkins, Johnson, McBrayer, Pennebaker, Prall, Rhea, Rust—22.

MRS.—Messrs. Alexander, Bruner, Deny, Gillis, Marshall, Simpson, Taylor, Wait, Walton, Whitaker—10.

And the bill passed.

ENROLLMENTS.

Mr. GILLIS reported several bills correctly enrolled and they were signed by the Speaker and delivered to the committee to be presented to the Governor for his approval and signature.

A MESSAGES FROM THE H. R.

Was received, announcing the passage by the House of sundry Senate bills.

SPECIAL ORDER.

The reports of the committee on Federal Relations were postponed until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

The resolutions of Mr. ROUSSEAU, on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi river, came up in order.

Mr. ROUSSEAU offered the following additional resolutions, viz:

Resolved further, That this protest is meant as a friendly warning, that if the States attempting secession want a peaceful solution of their effort, it must be carried on without the usurpation of a power to control the navigation of the Mississippi, or to tax its commerce; for let the final adjustment of our national troubles come when and how it may, the transfer of that power to any foreign government whatever, is what the ten millions of people inhabiting the upper part of the great valley will never permit. Whilst, therefore, Kentucky commands that forbearance from coercion which has thus far signalized the action of the National Government, she cannot tolerate the exercise of this usurped power, in prostration of her indisputable rights as a man of coercion against herself and the other States of the valley.

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Mr. RUST opposed the amendment at length.

Mr. FISK offered an amendment to the amendment: rejected.

Mr. WHITAKER then moved a reconsideration of the vote dispensing with the third reading of the bill.

The Senate refused to suspend the rules to entertain the resolution.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. ANDREWS offered a resolution limiting speeches to 15 minutes for the balance of the session.

The Senate refused to suspend the rules to entertain the resolution.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. RUST—County Courts—A bill for the benefit of the sheriff of Todd county: passed.

Mr. CISSELL—Judiciary—A bill to amend the charter of the town of Glasgow: passed.

LEAVE.

The following leave to bring in a bill was granted:

Mr. GIBSON—A bill to punish convicts in the penitentiary who main themselves to work: referred.

And then the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, March 28, 1861.

Prayer by the Rev. J. M. LANCASTER, of the Catholic church.

The reading of the Journal of yesterday was dispensed with.

FETTITIONS
Were presented by Messrs. H. H. SMITH, and FISHER, and appropriately referred.

BILLS PRESENTED.

Mr. H. H. SMITH—A bill to incorporate the town of Slaughtersville, in Webster county: passed.

Mr. M. C. COOK—A bill regulating the fees

Cephalic Pills SICK HEADACHE CURE Nervous Headache CURE All kinds of Headache.

By the use of these Pills the periodic attacks of Nervous or Sick Headache may be prevented; and if taken at the commencement of an attack, immediate relief from pain and sickness will be obtained.

They seldom fail in removing the Nausea and Headache to which females are so subject.

They act gently upon the bowels—removing Constipation.

For Literary Men, Students, Delicate Females, and all persons of sedentary habits, they are valuable as a Laxative, improving the appetite, giving tone and vigor to the digestive organs, and restoring the natural elasticity and strength of the whole system.

The CEPHALIC PILLS are the result of long investigation and carefully conducted experiments, having been in use many years, during which time they have prevented and relieved a vast amount of pain and suffering from Headache, whether originating in the nervous system or from a deranged state of the stomach.

They are entirely vegetable in their composition, and may be taken at all times with perfect safety without making any change of diet, and the absence of any disagreeable taste renders it easy to administer them to children.

BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS.

The genuine have five signatures of Henry C. Spalding on each Box.

Sold by Druggists and other Dealers in Medicines.

A Box will be sent by mail prepaid on receipt of the PRICE, 25 CENTS.

All orders should be addressed to HENRY C. SPALDING,
18 Cedar Street, New York.

THE FOLLOWING ENDORSEMENTS OF Spalding's Cephalic Pills, Will Convince all who Suffer from HEADACHE,

That a Speedy and Sure Cure is Within their Reach.

As these Testimonials were unsolicited by Mr. Spalding, they afford unquestionable proof of the efficacy of this truly scientific discovery.

MARSHALL, CONN., Feb. 5, 1861.
Mr. Spalding: Sir—I have tried your Cephalic Pills, and I like them so well that I want you to send me two dollars' worth more.

Part of these are for the neighbors, to whom I gave a few out of the first box I got from you. Send the Pills by mail, and oblige Your ob't servant, JAMES KENNEDY.

HANOVER, PA., Feb. 6, 1861.
Mr. Spalding: Sir—I wish you to send me one more box of your Cephalic Pills. I have received a great deal of benefit from them.

Yours respectfully,
MARY ANN STOIKHOUSE.

SPENCE CREEK, HUNTINGTON CO., PA.,
January 18, 1861.
H. C. Spalding: Sir—You will please send me two boxes of your Cephalic Pills. Send them immediately. Respectfully yours, JOHN B. SIMONS.

P. S.—I have used one box of your Pills, and find them excellent.

BELLEVILLE, OHIO, Jan. 15, 1861.
Henry C. Spalding, Esq.: Please find enclosed twenty-five cents, for which send me another box of your Cephalic Pills. They are truly the best Pills I have ever tried.

Direct, A. STOVER, P. M.,
Belle Vernon, Wyandot Co., O.

BEVERLY, MASS., Dec. 11, 1860.
H. C. Spalding, Esq.: I wish for some circulars or large show bills, to bring your Cephalic Pills more particularly before my customers. If you have anything of the kind, please send to me.

One of my customers, who is subject to severe Sick Headache (usually lasting two days), was cured of an attack in one hour by your Pills, which I sent her. Respectfully yours, W. E. WILKES.

REYNOLDSBURG, FRANKLIN CO., OHIO,
January 19, 1861.
Henry C. Spalding, No. 48 Cedar St., N. Y.: Dear Sir—Enclosed find twenty-five cents (25), for which send box of "Cephalic Pills." Send to address of Rev. William C. Fuller, Reynoldsburg, Franklin county, Ohio.

Your Pills work like a charm—cure Headache almost instantaneously. Truly yours, WM. C. FULLER.

YPSILANTI, MICH., Jan. 14, 1861.
Mr. Spalding: Sir—Not long since I sent to you for a box of Cephalic Pills for the cure of the Nervous Headache and Costiveness, and received the same, and they had so good an effect that I was induced to send for more.

Please send by return mail. Direct to A. R. WHEELER, Ypsilanti, Mich.

From the Examiner, Norfolk, Va.

Cephalic Pills accomplish the object for which they were made, viz: Cure of headache in all its forms.

From the Examiner, Norfolk, Va.

They have been tested in more than a thousand cases, with entire success.

A single bottle of SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE will save ten times its cost annually.

SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE!

SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE!

SAVE THE PIECES!

ECONOMY! DISPATCH!

"A STITCH IN TIME SAVES NINE."

As accidents will happen, even in well regulated families, it is very desirable to have some cheap and convenient way for repairing Furniture, Toys, & Crockery, &c.

SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE

meets all such emergencies, and no household can afford to be without it. It is always ready, and up to the sticking point.

"USEFUL IN EVERY HOUSE."

N.B.—A Brush accompanies each Bottle. Price, 25 cents.

HENRY C. SPALDING,
No. 48 Cedar street, New York.

CALCINATION.

As certain unprincipled persons are attempting to palm off on the unsuspecting public imitations of my Prepared Glue, I would caution all persons to examine before purchasing, and see that the full name,

SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE, is on the outside wrapper; all others are winding counterfeits.

LOOK AT THIS! M. L. PIERSON, MANUFACTURER OF AND DEALER IN CHOICE CONFECTIONERIES.

ST. CLAIR STREET, Frankfort, Ky.

(At the old stand of T. P. Pierson.)

THANKFUL for the very liberal patronage I have received at the above establishment, was opened by me to say that no exertion on my part shall be wanting to supply the increasing demands for Cakes, Candies, Pyramids, Tea Cream, &c., on the shortest notice and most reasonable terms.

I am also agent for Clark's Revolving Loop Sewing Machines—one of the best and cheapest machines now in use. Price \$38; Hammer \$8 extra.

ICE! ICE! ICE!—The greatest accommo-

dation yet—can be had at my Confectionery at any time from 5 o'clock, A. M., until 9 o'clock, P. M.

March 21, 1860. M. L. PIERSON.

EXCELSIOR PARAFFINE OILS,
FOR BURNING AND LUBRICATING.

FREE FROM OFFENSIVE ODOR.

AT NO. 97 WALNUT STREET, Cincinnati, O.

We warrant our Oils to be equal, if not superior, to any in the market.

We invite those in the city and vicinity to call and examine for themselves.

Persons ordering from a distance, satisfaction guaranteed in all cases. We invite a comparative trial with any manufacturing establishment in America.

C. R. HASKIN, Agent, or
A. G. HODGES, Treasurer,
Kanawha C. C. M. Oil Manufacturing Co.,
Feb. 13, 1860. 97 Walnut St., Cincinnati.

SOMETHING NEW!

DAGUERREOTYPES, AMBROTYPE, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND IVORY TYPES.

H. L. GOODWIN,

TAKES pleasure in informing the public that he has returned to Frankfort, and taken the Gallery of C. A. Clarke, adjoining the Telegraph Office, and that he would be pleased to wait on those wishing perfect Likenesses of themselves or friends. He is confident he will be able to please the most fastidious in any kind of picture they may desire, from a life-size portrait to the smallest Daguerreotype or Ambrotype. Also, Daguerreotypes of deceased persons enlarged to the size of Life and Colored in Oil, and satisfaction given.

I am also prepared to make those gems of Photography, the Daguerreotype, which is truly the most durable small picture yet produced.

Types (made only at this Gallery) is acknowledged by all to be the most beautiful style of Photographic pictures ever presented to the public. In brilliancy of tone and color, delicacy of finish, correctness of likeness, and durability, it is far superior to the best miniature on Ivory.

Call and See. July 1, 1860. w&twtf.

MOSELEY'S TUBULAR WROUGHT IRON

ARCH BRIDGES AND CORRUGATED IRON ROOFS.

AS THESE TESTIMONIALS were unsolicited by Mr. Spalding, they afford unquestionable proof of the efficacy of this truly scientific discovery.

MOSELEY'S TUBULAR WROUGHT IRON.

LEAVE ORDERS AT NO. 66 WEST THIRD STREET, CINCINNATI.

MOSELEY & CO., APRIL 2, 1860.

A. C. KEENON'S BOOK BINDERY.

A. C. KEENON informs his friends and customers, that he still continues the Book Binding business, in all its branches, at his old stand, over HENRY J. HARLAN'S office, St. Clair street, and will give his whole attention to its management. He respectfully solicits continuance of the patronage heretofore extended to the establishment.

CLERKS will be furnished with RECORD BOOKS suited to any purpose, and of the very best quality of paper.

BLANK BOOKS of every description, manufactured at short notice, to order, on reasonable terms.

Frankfort, July 2, 1860.

COACH FACTORY.

HEMING & QUIN keep constantly on hand a fine assortment of CARRIAGES—any kind of carriage made to order and of the best material. We have purchased the sole right of

EVERETT'S PATENT COUPLING, For the counties of Franklin, Anderson, Lincoln, and Garrard.

N. B.—We would call the attention of purchasers to our Spring assortment of Carriages.

All work made by us warranted for one year.

April 2, 1855.

LOOK AT THIS!

FALL & WINTER GOODS!

ARE RECEIVING THESE

FINE FALL AND WINTER CLOTHING!

J. C. MANDEVILLE & CO.

A. E. RAY & T. DODD have now on hand the largest assortment of Cakes, Candies, Fruits, Nuts, &c.

Ever before offered in this market, which they will dispose of cheap. Every one desiring anything in their line for Christmas and New Year, will make money by giving them a call, as they are determined to sell.

Coloring.

GENTLEMEN can have their Whiskers, Goatee, Mustache, & Imperial colored in the highest style of the art, calling at

JAN. 8, 1860. SAMUEL'S BARBER SHOP.

CONFETIONARIES, FRUITS, NUTS, &c., FOR CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR.

DISPATCH!

"A STITCH IN TIME SAVES NINE."

As accidents will happen, even in well regulated families, it is very desirable to have some cheap and convenient way for repairing Furniture, Toys, & Crockery, &c.

SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE

meets all such emergencies, and no household can afford to be without it. It is always ready, and up to the sticking point.

"USEFUL IN EVERY HOUSE."

N.B.—A Brush accompanies each Bottle. Price, 25 cents.

HENRY C. SPALDING,
No. 48 Cedar street, New York.

CRANBERRIES

ONE barrel fresh Cranberries just received and for sale by [feet?] GRAY & TODD.

FOR RENT.

THE two Store Rooms under the Metropolitan Hall.

ORLANDO BROWN.

Dec. 14, 1859-tf.

SAVE THE PIECES!

ECONOMY!

DISPATCH!

"A STITCH IN TIME SAVES NINE."

As accidents will happen, even in well regulated families, it is very desirable to have some cheap and convenient way for repairing Furniture, Toys, & Crockery, &c.

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HENRY C. SPALDING,
No. 48 Cedar street, New York.

CALCINATION.

As certain unprincipled persons are attempting to palm off on the unsuspecting public imitations of my Prepared Glue, I would caution all persons to examine before purchasing, and see that the full name,

SPALDING'S PREPARED GLUE, is on the outside wrapper; all others are winding counterfeits.

As certain unprincipled persons are attempting to palm off on the unsuspecting public imitations of my Prepared Glue, I would caution all persons to examine before purchasing, and see that the full name,

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